585 292 [531] fustanella and tights, and, disappointingly, pointed black towny shoes. His face, rather a commonplace one for a Sarakatsán, was a mask of confused virile seriousness. In only one thing did his outfit differ from the full-dress Greek mountain costume: black woolen armlets, embroidered with specifically Sarakatsán geometric zigzags, encased his forearms below the wide white sleeves which ended at his elbow.

585 Despite the chaos in the church, the marriage service evolved unperturbed. The two enormous ribboned candles were held by minute shepherd boys, like the lances of heraldic supporters, on either side of a little altar in the body of the nave. The *koumbaros* switched the flimsy white flower crowns from head to head in a succession of intricate passes and arranged and rearranged their hands and bound them with ribbon and performed yet more complex manipulations with the ring, and followed them in kissing the bossy silver binding of the proffered missal. Finally he accompanied them, hand in hand, led by the priest under a fusillade of flung rice and sweets, in a slow and dignified dance thrice around the altar. This is a kind of hieratic pavane, which more than any other moment in the solemnization (for the wine that the priest offers to the bridal couple is no more than a commemoration of the wedding at Cana of Galilee) hallows and confirms the sacrament.

Out in the sunlight, all was levity, flourished banners, and gunfire again. We made our way through the wigwams to the house which the groom's father, striking modern roots in his winter pastures, had recently built. As the newly wed couple reached the threshold, someone handed the groom a sieve, which he threw over his shoulder, a measure which is said to forfend marital discord. They both kissed the hand of the groom's father and laid it to their foreheads for a second and [123] vanished indoors. My new friend of yesterday, [576] Barba Petro, introduced us to this pastoral dynast, who welcomed us with the same graceful inclination, with his hand laid on his breast, and led us in.

● [352] There were already plenty of guests there, both on the low divan which ran around the room and cross-legged on the mats which padded the floor; [539] and at each new arrival, while black-swathed aunts and grandmothers offered the newcomers saucers with a spoonful of jam, a glass of water, and a thimbleful of raki, they intoned a welcoming song: "Mother, our friends have come," they sang, "our bidden guests. Bid them welcome with [576] honey and sugar and with golden words." Some sat with hands linked around their doubled-up

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775 from the grave and haunts the folds and blights the pastures.

585 A recent unpublished source casts new light on
[114] the obscure drama of nomad marriages. I have mentioned in reference to the Mani the sword which, by sympathetic magic, is said to cleave asunder the bonds of fear and shyness between the two married strangers when they are finally alone together. In Sarakatsán embraces, a blade plays a
[352] still more immediate role. Alone in the hut, lying on cut branches padded with blankets — for there is never a bridal bed or a sheet and only the strictest minimum of undressing — the groom, with a sudden masterful swoop, leaps athwart the bride, seizes her by the scruff of her neck, and with bared teeth and burning eyes, lays the edge of a dagger at her throat. Most strangely, this time-honored stratagem works; timidity boils up into hot blood on either side, confusion is ripped to shreds, the dagger is flung away, and the union is driven home and fiercely clinched in a lightning tussle.

834 The nomad approach to all feminine physio-
515 logical troubles is primitive, deep, and dark. They never undress — all exposure is anathema to them — and there is some truth in the village rumors that they never wash. Oddly, they scarcely smell at all, perhaps because of the time-stiffened
764 carapace of clothing which encases them. The author of the unpublished material I have already mentioned was present at the death of an old Sarakatsánissa. There was no undoing the thick geometric livery in which she was cocooned, so it was torn open with a knife, sending the bystanders reeling back like the people depicted on
573 icons at the Raising of Lazarus. When she mar-
[573] ries, a girl is no longer a member of her own family, and sometimes she never sees it again; she is a slave to her husband and his womenfolk, a stranger in strangers' tents. It was the rule in the stern old days that no wife should address her husband in the first years of her marriage; he, in his turn, would never call her by name; and many years and many births had to pass before they would converse in public.

766 Charon, Death, is a permanent presence and the most natural of companions. A nomad who perishes in the mountains goes unhouseled and un-
122 aneled. If he should die on the road — and the
[255] nomads' two yearly migrations, geared to the slow gait of the flocks, may take twenty-five or thirty days — he is laid across a pack beast, and after the body is unloaded, a candle is lit for him three
[254] evenings running and a cup of wine placed "for his soul to drink from." If a *tsellingas* falls mortally ill, the bells are muffled; and if he dies, all the animals, even the bellwethers, are disarmed in
764 mourning. When men turn fifty and women
767 thirty, all the nomads, however hale they are,

/29 cont./

322 softer, it is left lying in butter for about a month.

This process is likewise applied to a certain number of hard woods.

Wood intended for sculpture or carving must be boiled in water for several hours. When it is a matter of bending a trunk, they soak it for four or five days or else heat it in the fire.

/30/ And now here are the various objects made from these woods and with these tools:

Household objects

[352] [412] Household objects may be divided into furniture (providing rudimentary comfort for daily life inside the dwellings), and implements used in housework.

352 Sarakatsani furniture is scant and very simple. One may list:

A table for meals, called tavla and sometimes sofras (fig. 2 and 3).

Fig. 2

Fig. 3

Sometimes round, 60 centimeters in diameter, sometimes rectangular, this table is made of boards oppropriately cut. It consists of a top and legs (pieces of wood 30 to 40 centimeters high, nailed perpendicularly to the under side of the top).

It is extremely low table, for the diners take their meals squatting around it. Sometimes the tavla does not have legs and rests directly on the ground. This form, as a matter of fact, is older than the other.

A cradle: in the book by Madame Hadjimichali previously cited she shows the sketch of a cradle in the form of a moccasin hollowed out directly from a tree trunk and provided with a handle for carrying. (5)

/30 cont./

5. Ibid., A, II, p. 355.

352 [114] This cradle probably no longer exists, for we ourselves, in the course of our investigation in the field, were never able to find one anywhere.

/31/

Fig. 4

The only type of cradle that we came across among the nomads did not differ to any extent from that used by the peasants, and it is always made with boards (fig 4).

/31 cont./

352 Small stools: This type of furniture has made its appearance recently

Fig. 5

among the Sarakatsani, in imitation of peasant furniture. In any case it is a very simple stool (fig. 5).

[516] The generally accepted custom is that everybody squats or stretches out on the ground in front of the hearth on covers spread directly on the ground of the hut. Beds are unknown.

[342] In other respects the interior of the hut itself solves the problem of the indispensible /32/ furniture to hold objects. The walls, in fact, provide a kind of bench or shelf. (6)

6. See below, the section devoted to the dwelling, pp. 90-92.

415 [128] Since furniture is limited to these few objects, we shall go onto examine the utensils made by the Sarakatsani, which we shall categorize according to their use.

Utensils used in making bread

[322] [824] The kneading trough, a type of large receptacle carved out of a heavy piece of solid wood (trunk of holly) in which bread is kneaded (fig. 6).

The pinakotti: this is a very thick board that has six to eight

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/79/

Fig. 62

342 This low wall serves to ward off any danger of flooding by rainwater. In this connection it is necessary to mention that the Sarakatsani never forget to scoop out a drainage ditch all around the hut.

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Fig. 63

/79 cont./

352 Often, a row of benches almost the same height and some 50 centimeters wide, called "the beds," is added to the low wall. These benches which run the length of the low wall and complete it, are made of small forks set vertically in the ground; interlaced twigs and branches laid on these form the servicable horizontal surface (fig.63).

354 In the round hut the hearth is placed in a definite spot which often, but not necessarily, coincides with the center of the hut.

On the other hand, in the rectangular hut the hearth is situated on that side of the two forks sustaining the rafters which is nearest the entrance.

/80/ In all these cases the hearth is more or less perfectly round in shape. The foundation consists of a series of rough stand flags set side by side and held in place with mud. The part of the hearth turned toward the entrance always has a border of a low wall of an equal mixture of earth and pebbles, from 35 to 40 centimeters

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Fig. 64

/80 cont./

354 high and approximately 20 centimeters thick, meant to protect the hearth against drafts and to facilitate the process of cooking of which we shall speak farther on (fig. 64).

Any kind of chimney is unknown.

342 Moreover, there are no divisions inside a Sarakatsani dwelling.

352 At the left of the entrance and 1.59 meters from the ground one sees two /81/ shelves of wood, one above the other. With very rare [342] exceptions these shelves are typically placed to the left of the entrance since, in most cases, the door opens inward; thus it is only in the opposite case that they are placed on the right. (fig. 65)

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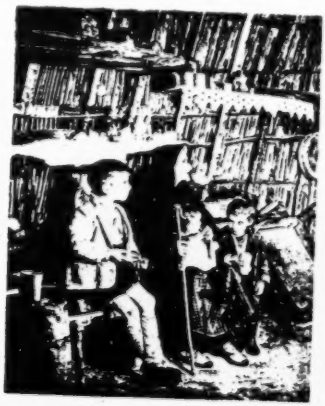

Fig. 65

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] [352] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 233 417 Buildings intended for animals.

In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

[See p. 84--Analyst]

/95 cont./

233 [432] sold to livestock dealers. The sterile ewes are also sold.

With she-goats and kids the procedure is the same.

[232] Moreover, castration of a small number of male animals intended for consumption is also practiced.

/96/ METHODS OF UTILIZATION AND CONSUMPTION

121 Some goods obtained are at times directly usable or consumable without the necessity of supplementary intervention. There are others which must first be submitted either to preparation, improvement or transformation. For still others a few some arrangements suffice.

The concrete study of the different items classified according to corresponding needs will show us what, among the Sarakatsani are the various forms of intervention in question.

342 The Dwelling and the Buildings Intended for the Animals.

The huts described serve, as we have seen, primarily for dwelling. The arrangements made to this end are the following:

352 353 The small wall which protects the interior from rainwater also serves as a shelf /piece of furniture of support/. Household articles and especially blankets and rugs belonging to the family are placed upon it (fig. 62). A A Piled one on top of another all around the hut and [513] covered by those which are considered the most beautiful in design or color, the blankets are always at the disposal of the occupants and thus become part of the decor of the hut.

The "beds," also described above, which line the wall and finish it off are used chiefly to hold sacks, cooking pots, etc. (fig.63).

354 The fire is always burning in the hut. It is where the family prepares their meals and gather round to eat, warm themselves and sleep.

The smoke escapes to the outside through the boughs and leaves of the roof (fig. 76). It is true that when the fire is kindled the smoke rises and accumulates under the roof before being emitted, so that in practice one does not feel it below a height of 1.50 meters from the ground. And the Sarakatsani say that, on principle, "everybody must be

A A [Fig. 62 appears on p.91--Analyst]

/96 cont./

354 seated during the kindling." Once the wood has taken hold, smoke accumulation is no longer to be feared, for the heated air rises and escapes slowly to the outside through the roof boughs.

342 /97/ Each hut is a single unit which is used at one and the same
182 time as sleeping quarters, dining room, kitchen, finally as workroom
592 for small tasks. Thus, the entire family life unfolds communally in the presence of all.

513 In the evening everybody, men, women, children, newly married couples, etc., lie down on the ground all around the hearth, their

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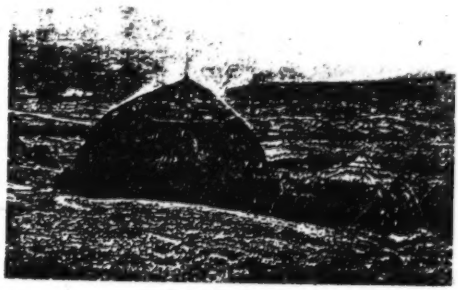

Fig. 76

513 heads toward the periphery of the hut. The floor is covered with rugs
[352] and outspread blankets. Moreover, no one undresses for sleeping. The rugs always remain spread out on the ground which is almost completely covered by them and is practically not visible.

352 At the left of the entrance there are two shelves on which utensils
353 and dishes can be set. (fig. 65).

On the right side of the entrance a place is reserved for sacks containing food provisions (grains, flour, etc.), as well as a small tub full of water.

[Fig. 65 appears on p.93--Analyst]

/97 cont./

352 353 The cradle is customarily placed at the back of the hut to the left.

On the interior walls of the hut and near the entrance are fastened short forks of wood upon which hung clothes, bags, etc. are hung.

(343) /98/ The small huts are often used as outbuildings (as storehouses, for instance). They are then provided with "beds" to hold blankets and food provisions in reserve.

343 342 233 Others are used as shelters for the shepherds who do not go far away from the flocks. During the cold nights of winter a fire is lighted there, directly on the earth and beside the entrance.

343 352 With respect to the "frétzato" abutting the hut, as well as for the "photogoni" that serves as outdoor kitchen, there is nothing to add, except that the former, which is fitted out with "beds," also serves as storehouses.

343 (574) The "tsardhaki," free-standing or integrated into a fretzato, functions as reception room for visitors. Moreover, the members of the family sit and even lie down there, comfortably sheltered from the sun during the summer.

(574) Generally speaking, it is the kitchen, the supplies and the space intended for the reception of visitors which "move outdoors," following a general practice widespread throughout several parts of the world. (22)

22. See A. Leroi-Gourhan: Milieu et Technique, p. 286.

The animal shelters protect the flocks from bad weather and from wolves.

Clothing--Blankets--Rugs.

121 The study of clothing, blankets and rugs shows us, on the one hand, how the Sarakatsani succeed in meeting the needs corresponding to these objects; on the other hand, it introduces us to their aesthetics.

(128) Inasmuch as we intend to devote a chapter of the present work to

/98 cont./

121 Sarakatsani art, we shall concern ourselves here with only the
128 first aspect of this problem.

291 In general, one may say that:
[191]

The ancient male costume of the Sarakatsani is almost identical with the national costume of continental Greece (fig. 77).

On the other hand, the costume of the women shows striking peculiarities. The austerity of shapes, colors and decorative motifs is found nowhere else.

513 As for the blankets and rugs, the peculiarities that differentiate
352 them from those produced in other regions of continental Greece relate more to technology than to form and color.

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Fig. 77

/108 cont./

291 ornaments of the women (clasps, chains, etc.), as well as the cotton
439 fabrics for the "foustanella," for the shirt or for underclothing are bought commercially.

294 Finally, the services of the tailor also come from the outside; an
445 itinerant tailor is called upon to make the "foustanella" and vests
177 of every sort.

294 The Sarakatsani make only their other clothing themselves.

513 Blankets and rugs

352 The description of blankets and rugs was given in connection with the study of their manufacture.

As far as their use is concerned, it should be pointed out that while the "tsolia" and the "fouskotto" are always used as rugs, the blankets have the double role of covering human beings while they are asleep and making them comfortable on the floor of the hut. A double use which, however, does not take away from their character as blankets for their second use is merely complementary. However, the "karamelotti" blankets (fig. 40)$_{A}^{A}$ are never used as rugs.

513 One other point remains to be stated: the Sarakatsani are not even acquainted with sheets and mattresses. On the other hand, cushions and pillows are widely used.

Food-Drink-Heat and Light

262 Food.

If we wish to classify in a hierarchical order the basic products that enter into the food of the Sarakatsani we should mention first milk and dairy products, then maize and wheat flour, then edible grasses, vegetables, olive oil and last of all meat.

[439] All these subsistence goods are directly at the disposal of the Sarakatsani except flour, oil and vegetables for which he must turn to the economy of surrounding society on which he depends to this extent.

[251] /109/ Moreover, dairy products (cheese, butter), wheat and maize,

$_{A}^{A}$, /Fig.40 appears on p.66--Analyst/

/255 cont./

843 789 [801] and the embryo. The knots are very eloquent from this point of view. And the "Mary's" in the mystical number of "three" represent another expression of the univeral-mother, in Christianized form, whose presence in this rite is particularly appropriate.

Nevertheless, the ideal fertility sought is that which will end in the birth of boys. That is why, when the bride, having arrived in front of the dwelling of her husband, dismounts from her horse, a boy whose parents are living mounts into the saddle and takes her place. Likewise, a small boy is put on the bride's lap. Thus, the young woman will give birth [352] [831] to boys. On the other hand, the young couple are forbidden to sit on the three-legged stool of the hearth, for its shape symbolizes the female sexual organ and it can bring them only girls. In these two cases, as in the preceding ones, it is no longer forces but other influences that work toward the desired result.

233 825 789 In order to promote the fertility of livestock, the Sarakatsani follow /256/ procedures which are different from those already described, but whose content points to the same beliefs. In this instance the procedures seek to promote the birth of females--the foundations of wealth and family prosperity. On Christmas day a young girl whose two parents are [529] living makes the rounds of the huts of the Tséligato. Before each door she stops and speaks these words to the inhabitants who await for her to pass: "Good day. I wish you a long life. May the next year bring the [514] birth of many ewes." The women of the family offer her sweets. When she leaves, the wives of the shepherds fill their tubs at a nearby spring and throw cheese and butter into it.

529 233 825 789 On New Year's day the first person to enter a Sarakatsani hut must be a young girl who has two living parents and who holds in her hand holly and feliki--the favorite food of goats and ewes. Once inside the hut, she must sit down on the ground beside the hearth and toss her bouquet into the fire, which starts to crackle from the heat. Then the young girl,